2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he was expected to name others with a distinguished war record to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge. A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239-40.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

MATURITY AND MIDDLE AGE

A man was considered to have reached maturity when, several years after his first marriage, he had assumed most of the responsibility of providing meat for the household and had taken over important ceremonial duties. Marriage introduced him to a new set of relatives with a new pattern of behavior in his daily associations with them. Marriage also introduced his wife to new sets of relations as well as new ceremonial relatives.

By the time a young man had reached maturity, he would normally have advanced through at least three age-grade societies. Except for the first society which was owned by the young preadolescent boys, the buyer was expected to bring his wife to the transfer ceremonies. She was expected to give assistance in the preparation of the food and goods used during the society transfer. A man's ceremonial "father" from whom he received paraphernalia and instructions in the lore and rites of the society was a ceremonial "grandfather" to the wife and was entitled to have "intercourse" with her during the transfer ceremonies. The men's societies all followed a common pattern when being transferred. The sellers individually selected young men, not more than four in number and whose fathers were of the seller's clan, to sponsor during the transfer ceremonies. He had the necessary clothing and equipment prepared for his "sons" and gave them individual instructions prior to the meeting of the two groups representing the sellers and buyers.

The sellers addressed the buyers collectively as "sons," who in turn addressed the sellers as "fathers." All the wives of the buyers were addressed by the sellers as "granddaughters." A man's social status grew in proportion to the number of societies he had owned at one time or another and was especially enhanced if he had kept the same wives who assisted him in all his society purchases. Those who had enjoyed the loyalty of their wives while making many society purchases were especially regarded because they continued the same "father-son" relationship independent of the societies afterward. Crows Heart frequently referred to occasions in later years when he had invited in the men who acted as his sponsors when buying into a society and had given them a meal and little presents.